

"I looked upon the Bullion Report as likely to lead to what would be likely to secure the country from the natural consequences of that overwhelming corruption, which I regarded as the fruit of the paper system; and, as I have the accomplishment of this great object deeply at heart; as I look upon the happiness and honour of my country as of far greater value to me than any other worldly possession, I said, and I still say, that the Bullion Report has given me more pleasure than I should derive from being made the owner of the whole of Hampshire. As to any idea of a party nature, I shall, I am sure, be believed, when I say, that I did not care one straw to what party the Committee belonged. If I had a wish as to party, it certainly would be, that *no change of ministry should take place*; for, without prejudices to the OUTS, who, I think, would do the thing full as well with a little more time, I am quite satisfied, that the present people will do it as *neatly* and as *quickly*, as any reasonable man can expect."—POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. XVIII. p. 427, Sept. 22nd, 1810.

[98

TO THE READERS.

The Sheet containing the TABLES and INDEXES to Vol. XIX, and also the TABLE OF PRICES, &c. &c. is published with the present Number.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

Report of the Bullion Committee:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS

IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

LETTER XXVIII.

Progress of Lord Stanhope's Bill—Effects of its Provisions—Mr. Brougham's Resolutions—The Justice of Lord King's Claim insisted on—Illustrated by the Grants to the King and the Additions to the Pay of the Judges.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Bill is past! And, be you assured, that the *die is cast*! When, I wrote the passage, which I have taken for my motto to this letter, I did expect to see what I hinted at in the close of that passage; but, I must confess, that I did not expect the progress to have been *quite so rapid* as it has been. For the future my calculations will be more likely to keep pace with events.

Well, the Bill of Lord Stanhope is now become a law. We will, therefore, take

a short view of the rise and progress of it; and, when we have so done, we will examine its provisions, and endeavour to point out its consequences.

The Bill was brought into the House of Lords and read a first time on the 27th of June, when no division took place, and when an intimation was given by the ministers, that they should *oppose* it. On the second of July, it was read a second time, and, being now *supported* by the ministers, the question for the second reading was carried, 36 for it, 12 against it. On the 8th of July, it was read a third time and passed, 43 for it, 16 against it. In the Honourable House, it was read a first time on the 9th of July, and, upon a division on the question, there appeared 64 for it and 19 against it. On the 15th of July it was read a second time, 133 for it, and 35 against it. On the 17th of July it went through a committee of the House, and, on the 19th of July, it was read a third time and passed with the amendments, relating to the *penalties*. On the 22nd of July, the amendments introduced by the Commons were agreed to by the Lords. On the 24th of July it received the Royal Assent by Commission; and thus it is become A LAW; thus a new *penal law* has been added to the almost endless number already in existence. Many hundreds of the people of this country have been banished, or put to death, for *imitating* the promissory notes of the Bank Company; and now the people are liable to be punished for *passing them* for what they may deem their worth, though they be their own property.

The provisions of the Bill are not numerous: it is a *pitchy* affair. The first part relates to the passing of coin and paper, and

E

the second to the recovery of rents. It will be best to insert the words. Those of the first part are as follows: "Be it enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, no person shall receive or pay for any gold coin lawfully current within the realm, any more in value, benefit, or advantage, than the true lawful value of such coin, whether such value, benefit, profit or advantage be paid, made, or taken in lawful money, or in any note or notes, bill or bills of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, or in any silver token or tokens issued by the said Governor and Company, or by any or all of the said means wholly or partly, or by any device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever. — And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall by any device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever, receive or pay any note or notes, bill or bills of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as of less value in money, except lawful discount, than the sum expressed therein, to be thereby made so payable." — Thus it stood as it went from the Lords. There were, I believe, some trifling verbal alterations made in the Honourable House, who also added the *penalty*, and made it a *misdeemeanour* to disobey this part of the law; of course, offenders against it may be punished by *fine* and *imprisonment*, or, as I am, by *both*, at the discretion, perhaps, of the Judges; but, of this I am not sure, not having, as yet, seen the Act in its finished state.

Thus, then, the Bank Company, after having applied to the Government to issue an Order in Council, after having subsequently applied for acts of Parliament, to screen them against the consequences of refusing to pay their promissory notes in coin, now see a law passed making it *criminal*, for any one to get rid of any of those notes that he may happen to possess for their real worth in coin!

This law does what the laws already in existence could not do in the case of DE YONGE; or, at least, it *attempts* to do it. It forbids and punishes the selling of gold coin for more than its nominal worth in Bank Notes, which was precisely what DE YONGE did. But, do you believe, Gentlemen, that this will put a stop to the traffick? I should think, that nobody could believe this; and, if any one were

inclined to believe it, he need only consider the little effect produced by the conviction of DE YONGE to convince him of the contrary. That gentleman was found guilty of the crime of selling guineas at *Twenty two shillings and sixpence* each, and, while he lay under that conviction, the price of the guinea rose to *Twenty six or Twenty seven shillings*. This is a pretty good proof that the price of the guinea is not to be kept down by penal laws. But, if the law should put an end to all purchases of gold coin in *Bank of England notes*, it cannot have any such effect with regard to *Country Bank Notes*. Suppose, for instance, that one of you had a fancy for a hundred guineas to lay snugly aside, and I had them to dispose of; the price would be 135*l.* but, say we, the bargain must not take place in notes of the Governor and Company in Threadneedle Street, for so says lord Stanhope's law. But the law does not say, that such bargains shall not be made in *Country Bank notes*; and therefore, you give me 135*l.* in the notes of Paperkite and Co. which notes will, in all probability, answer my purpose full as well as the London notes, or better if I want to pay them away in the country; and, if they should not answer my purpose quite so well, what have I to do but go to the country banker and get them changed for Bank of England notes? I keep the country bank notes if I please, and if I please I change them. This is one way, then, and a most effectual way too, of rendering the Bill of no use as to its main apparent object.

But, how many are the ways, in which such a law may, must, and will be evaded? It is a law intended to make people part with their property for *less* than it is worth in the one case, and to make them obtain for it *more* than it is worth in the other case. The old adage of "a thing is worth what it will bring" is, by this law, to be totally destroyed after having lived in the world ever since purchase, or even barter, was known amongst men. According to this law, a thing, in one case will be *worth more* than it is to be suffered to bring, and, in the other case, a thing will not bring *so much* as it is to be asserted to be worth. It is a law, in short, to compel men to dispose of certain articles of their property (if they dispose of them at all) at a price fixed on by the government; and is such a law as never was heard of before, except in France, during the times

of Rob
It is as
Resolut
but, it i
enforce
porary
check
and to
will be
of the
as peo
have a
worth
which
in Eng
I shall
worth
sendin
who w
is not
not do
is not
who v
excha
one sh
to you
expres
this la
drive
hoard
preve
restra
the p
vent
evil o

* I
BROU
the H
gative
to co
were
soluti
tainin
mora
now
will
child
beyo
I.
of th
of ev
of hi
its v
chus
sesse
the
righ
char
plea
dem

of Robespierre and Danton and Marat. It is as Mr. BROUGHAM has called it, in his Resolutions, a law of *maximum* as to gold coin; but, it is a law, which cannot be generally enforced, and which can have only a temporary and partial effect, if any at all, in checking the traffic in coin against paper; and to whatever extent it is efficient, it will be efficient in driving all the coin out of the kingdom, excepting such portion as people are enabled to hoard; for, if I have a guinea, or any thing else, that is worth 27 shillings, and if there be a law which prevents me from getting at present in England more than 21 shillings for it, I shall certainly hoard it 'till I can get the worth of it, if I have no safe means of sending it abroad. Where is the man who will not do this? I am sure that there is not a man amongst you who would not do it. Yes, I am sure, that there is not one single farmer in all England, who will not hoard a guinea rather than exchange it for a bank note of twenty one shillings. So that, as I have observed to you before, and as has been very well expressed in Mr. BROUGHAM's Resolutions, this law will, as far as it shall be efficient, drive the little remains of gold coin into hoards or out of the country, and, by preventing a free and open and unrestrained competition between the coin and the paper, will, as far as it has effect, prevent the operation of the only cure for the evil of a depreciated paper money.*

* It was on the 19th of July, that Mr. BROUGHAM proposed his RESOLUTIONS to the House of Commons. They were *negatived*; and, gentlemen, I beseech you to compare them with such resolutions as were *agreed to* by that House. These Resolutions are well worthy of attention, containing as they do what will become a memorable protest against the law, which is now the subject of discussion, and which will be a subject of observation with our children, if any trace of it shall remain beyond our own times.

I. That by the Law and Constitution of these Realms, it is the undoubted right of every man to sell, or otherwise dispose of his property for whatever he deems to be its value, or whatever consideration he chuses to accept. And that every man possessed of a Bank Note, or other security for the payment of money, has an undoubted right to give it away for nothing, or in exchange for whatever sum of money he pleases; or if he cannot obtain what he demands, to retain possession of it.

I have before observed, that, in all *ready-money* transactions, this law must be nugatory, and I have given an instance of a farmer having a pig to sell at market. It will, of course, be the same in all other bargains for ready-money; and, even in cases of credit, amongst friends and neighbours, the same will take place. Some roguery may be, in this respect, created by the law, but the law will never compel men to give the guinea and receive the note at their nominal value, one compared with the other. In that place, where, of all others, one might expect to see the dispositions of men concur with this law; I mean, the *Stock Exchange*, a distinction between coin and paper is already made; for Stock has frequently been bought with guineas at a price much lower than the rate of the day, which rate is regulated upon the supposition that paper-money is to be the medium. And, who is to prevent this, without a general law of *maximum*; that is to say, a law putting a price upon all commodities whatever, and punishing men for selling them for more than the price so fixed? This present law, therefore, is nothing of *itself*. It is nothing unaccompanied with a *maximum* of prices. Those who have begun in this path, must keep on, and go the whole length, or they do nothing at all, *except drive coin out of the country or into the hoards*, and, perhaps, in many cases, cause a breach of contracts between man and man.

II. That any statute, having for its object to restrain this right, would be contrary to the principles of the British Constitution, and a flagrant violation of the most sacred Rights of Property, and the ancient and inalienable Liberties of the People.

III. That any statute, having for its object to prevent the Bank, or other Paper Currency of the Country from being exchanged against the lawful money of the realm below a certain rate, would, if it could be carried into effect, cause the lawful money of the realm to disappear, and would, in proportion to its efficacy, preclude the application of the most appropriate remedies for the present derangement in the circulation of the country.

IV. That the free exchange of the lawful Money of the realm with the paper currency on such terms as the holders of each may think proper to settle among themselves, is not only the undoubted right of the subject, but affords the best

To a maximum they must come at last, or what is done will be of no effect at all.

The other provision of the Bill relates to *distress for rent*, and is as follows: "And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in case any person shall proceed by distress to recover from any tenant or other person liable to such distress, any rent or sum of money due from such tenant or other person, it shall be lawful for such tenant or other person, in every such case, to tender notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, expressed to be payable on demand, to the amount and in discharge of such rent or sum so due to the person on whose behalf such distress is made, or to the officer or person making such distress on his behalf; and in case such tender shall be accepted, or in case such tender shall be made and refused, the goods taken in such distress shall be forthwith returned to the party distressed

means of restoring the circulation of the country to its sound and natural state, by establishing two prices for all commodities, whenever the one currency is from any causes depreciated below the other.

V. That no law whatsoever can alter the real value of the paper currency in relation to the lawful money of the realm, nor alter the real value of either kind of currency, in relation to all other commodities; and that any attempt to fix the rates at which paper and coin shall pass current, must, in proportion to its success, interfere with the just and legal execution of all contracts already existing, without the possibility of affecting the terms upon which contracts shall be made in time to come.

VI. That it is the bounden duty of the Commons House of Parliament, as the guardians of the rights of the people, to discountenance and resist a scheme which has for its immediate objects the establishment of a maximum in the money-trade of the realm, and the dissolution of the obligations already contracted by numerous classes of the community, but which has for its groundwork principles leading to an universal law of maximum, and the infraction of every existing contract for the payment of money; and that a Bill touching the gold coin which has lately been brought from the Lords has, as the said objects, and principles.

“upon, unless the party distraining and
“refusing to accept such tender shall in-
“sist that a greater sum is due than the
“sum so tendered, and in such case the
“parties shall proceed as usual in such
“cases; but if it shall appear that no
“more was due than the sum so tendered
“then the party who tendered such sum
“shall be entitled to the costs of all sub-
“sequent proceedings: Provided always,
“that the person to whom such rent or
“sum of money is due *shall have and be*
“*entitled to all such other remedies for the*
“*recovery thereof, exclusive of distress, as*
“*such person had or was entitled to at the*
“*time of making such distress, if such person*
“*shall not think proper to accept such tender*
“*so made as aforesaid: Provided also, that*
“nothing herein contained shall affect
“the right of any tenant, or other such
“person as aforesaid, having such right
“to replevy the goods taken in distress,
“in case, without making such tender as
“aforesaid, he shall so think fit.”—

Now, what does this part of the Bill *effect*? It has frequently been said, that the *tenantry* ought to be *protected*, and Lord Stanhope has all along said, that his object was, to protect the *tenant*. What, then, has this bill done for the *tenant*? If the thing leased be a farm, or lands of any sort, *distress* is not the mode that the landlord would pursue. He has other remedies, and those much more efficient than that of distress. So that, in fact, this law affords *no protection at all* to the *tenant*.

But, though this law will do the tenant *no good*, it may, and, in some cases, will, do him a great deal of *harm*, especially as the minister has avowed his intention of making the bank notes a *legal tender* if this law should prove insufficient for the object in view. Under such circumstances, no man in his senses, will *let a new lease*, or *renew an old one*; for, though a *corn-rent* might possibly serve to guard him against the total loss of his estate, still he will be afraid, and he will think it the safest way to let no lease at all. Tenants for term of years will, therefore, become tenants at will, and will have their rents raised upon them every year agreeably to the depreciation of money and the rise in prices; and, another consequence will be, that landlords will, whenever it is practicable, take the lands into their own possession and use, seeing that even a yearly letting may, in the times that may arise, become dangerous; for, if a law be passed to-day



in consequence of a single landlord's demanding his rent according to law, what have not landlords to fear? The safest course, therefore, that they can pursue is to keep, as far as they are able, their farms in their own hands; and this, to a very great extent, they certainly will do. So that this law, as far as it is efficient, will produce a virtual violation of contracts and a discouragement to agriculture.

During the discussions upon this measure, several hints were thrown out as to the courts of law setting their faces against those who should demand payment in gold. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY observed upon what Mr. Manning said about the law being *too strong* for the landlords, that it alarmed him to hear such language; and that he thought it dangerous in the extreme to expose men to such uncertainty as to the real meaning of the law. But, Mr. FULLER and Lord STANHOPE, as appears from the reports in the newspapers, came to the point at once. The former is reported to have said, in the debate of the 9th of July, that "he wondered to hear any doubt of the solvency of the Bank, as it was to be supported by the solvency of Government; and Government surely had ships and stores, and plenty of valuables besides." He (Mr. Fuller) did not understand the objects of the persons who had brought forward the question, but he was convinced they were something sinister. (*A laugh.*) As to Bank-notes, if any landlord was offered payment in them, and he wanted gold, he (Mr. Fuller) did not know what might be done; but of this he was sure, that **THE WHOLE TENANTRY OF THE COUNTRY WOULD MEET AND TOSS HIM IN A BLANKET.** (*laughing.*) And the latter is reported to have said, in the House of Lords, on the 22nd of July, that "his Noble Friend (Earl of Lauderdale) had called the Bill a legislative HINT: but it was a pretty broad hint, too. He did not know whether his Noble Friend had been educated at any of the Universities: but, he believed, not at Oxford. There was a story there about a broad hint, which they called "*John Keale's broad hint.*" There was a man that John Keale did not like: John gave him a hint that he did not like his company: but he would not go away. "What did you do, then," says one to John? "Do," says John Keale, "why, I kicked him

down stairs. That was a pretty broad hint!!!" (*laughing.*) So he, (Earl Stanhope) had given Lord King a hint; and if he followed up this business, why, when next Session came, he would give him a BROAD hint! (*a laugh.*) Quite a wit, I declare: "Quite a sea-wit, Mr. Benjamin!" Well, you know, Gentlemen, that there is a time for all things, and, of course, a time for laughing. But, it is well worthy of remark, that this war (for it is the same that began in 1793) was waged for the "PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY AND PROPERTY AGAINST REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS," that was the title of the Association at the Crown and Anchor. This is well worthy of remark; now is the time to make such remark. This war has now been going on eighteen years; this war for the support of order and law and property, and now, behold, we hear, in the two houses of parliament, the supporters of this system, talk of *tossing a landlord in a blanket and kicking him down stairs*, if he should persist in demanding payment of his rents agreeably to the contract in his leases!

Gentlemen, if you have read the reports of the debates in parliament, upon this subject, you must have observed, that the people in the ministry have very loudly disapproved of the conduct of Lord KING for demanding of his tenants payment in gold, or in notes in sufficient amount to make up for the depreciation of money. Now, observe; they have brought forward, several times, propositions for large grants to the King and to others, on account of the rise in prices, which, as I have already explained to you, is only another name for the depreciation of money. I beg you to mark well what I am now going to state to you; because it will give you a clear insight into this whole matter.

In 1802, eight years ago, a large sum of money, no less a sum than 990,053*l.* (why not have made it a round million?) was granted by parliament "to the King to discharge the arrears and debts due upon the CIVIL LIST on the 5th of January, 1802." The Civil List, Gentlemen, is the King's establishment of servants and officers of different sorts, and, in short, of all his expences. The King had a permanent allowance, fixed by Act of Parliament, of 800,000*l.* a year for these purposes; but, in 1802 (the time

we are now speaking of) the Civil List had got into debt; and the then Minister, Addington, taking advantage of the national satisfaction at the Peace of Amiens, proposed a grant of the above sum, for the purpose of paying off this debt. Mr. Fox and others opposed the grant; but it was supported by PITT, GEORGE ROSE and the majority, and upon a division there were 226 for it and only 51 against it. And, let it be borne in mind, that the grant was justified by PITT upon this ground: that it did not make an increase to the Civil List equal in proportion "to the increase of the price of commodities, and to THE DEPRECIATION OF MONEY." So he said; so they all said; and the assertion was sanctioned by a vote of the House granting 990,053*l.* to the King. Now, then, if the King was to have a grant like this on account of the past depreciation of money, why should Lord King be reviled, why should he be tossed in a blanket, or kicked down stairs, for demanding payment in such a way as to give him some security for future depreciation of money, especially when we consider, that he only demanded the fulfilment of a bargain, while the grant to the King was over and above the fulfilment of a bargain made with him by the public?

But, did the demands for the King stop here? Very far from it; for, in the year 1804 (only two years afterwards), PITT, who was then come back into power, called for another grant for a similar purpose, to no less an amount than 591,842*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* How scrupulously exact the Gentleman was! To a half-penny, you see! Oh, wondrous financier! This grant also was made, and without any division of the House, though it was strenuously opposed by SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, upon the ground of its being a departure from a bargain with the public, and of the practice of making such grants being calculated to render the Royal Family absolutely dependent upon the Minister of the day. This grant also was justified upon the ground that money had depreciated and the prices of all commodities increased. This grant was accompanied with a permanent addition to the Civil List of 60,000*l.* a year; and, indeed, the annual sum, now paid by the people on that account is 958,000*l.* exclusive of 295,968*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.* in allowances and pensions to the Royal Family, besides the amount of sinecure places and military offices that some mem-

bers of the Family enjoy; the propriety or impropriety of none of which I am discussing, but it is necessary to state them in order to enable you to judge of the fairness of the attacks upon Lord King, who only wanted a bare fulfilment of contract with regard to his own private estate; who only wanted to save himself from ruin from the future depreciation of money, and who gave up to his tenants all they had gained from him by the past.

Now, Gentlemen, I beg you to observe, that this second grant to the King; this grant of £.591,842 was to pay off what he had lost in two years by the depreciation of money; and, you will also observe, and mark it well, that these are two out of the nine years that have elapsed since Lord King let the Estate respecting the rent of which you have seen his notice to his tenant. The King, in 1802, had a fixed allowance of £.800,000 a year out of the public money; and, at the end of only two years, his advisers find him to require a grant of £.591,842 on account of the depreciation of money; that is to say, £.295,921 in each of the two years. More than 30 per cent. per annum! And, is Lord King, after having silently suffered under the gradual depreciation for nine years, to be attacked in this manner; is he to be lumped along with Jews and Pedlars and Smugglers; is he to have a hint that he will be kicked down stairs or tossed in a blanket, because he now, when he sees the guinea selling at 25, or 26, or 27*s.* is resolved to have a fulfilment of his bargain, and not to be wholly ruined by this depreciation of money?

But, Gentlemen, this principle of augmenting allowances out of the public treasure, on account of the depreciation of money, has not been confined to the King and his family. It has been acted upon in almost all the departments under the government, the army and navy excepted, where, as far as relates to the Commissioned Officers especially, little augmentation has taken place. I will, however, here confine myself to one particular class of persons, namely, THE JUDGES, and I do it the rather because it has been hinted pretty broadly, that the Courts of Law would set their faces against the efforts of those, who might attempt to enforce payment in gold.

Be it known to you, then, Gentlemen, that the Judges' pay has had two lifts

since the gold an year 17 ing of The tw were v tation pay of Act, Ch King's tion did an aver whole a Chief B a year year; a £.1,000 which v in some year b enabled visers, anyjud and it this ca quence particu was no posed. He sa would to such fluenc and n sure w Judge receiv precia

Ha years time cordi passe ple se It se atten are s sible atten of th of th make the p quer to e it gi of th of tw Ban

since the Bank stopped its payments in gold and silver. The first was, in the year 1799, two years only after the passing of our famous *Bank Restriction Act*. The two *Chief Judges*, whose incomes were very large, underwent no augmentation by Act of Parliament; but, the pay of all the rest was augmented by the Act, Chapter 110, of the 39th year of the King's reign; and, no trifling augmentation did their pay receive, it being upon an average nearly, if not quite, *half the whole amount of their former pay*. The Chief Baron of the Exchequer had £1,000 a year added to his former £3,000 a year; and all the nine *Puisne Judges* had £1,000 each added to their former pay, which was, in some cases a little more and in some cases a little less than £2,000 a year before. And, besides this, the Act enabled *the King*, that is to say, his advisers, to make a permanent provision for any judge that might become *superannuated*, and it fixed on great pensions for them in this case, which pensions can, in consequence of that act, be granted without any particular consent of the parliament, which was not the case before. Mr. TIERNEY opposed this measure in a very able manner. He said, that the House of Commons would thus lose all check and controul as to such remunerations; and that the influence of the Crown would be thus greatly and most fearfully enlarged. The measure was, however, adopted; and thus the Judges, in Scotland as well as in England, received an ample compensation for the depreciation of money, up to the year 1799.

Having gone on with this pay for ten years, it appears to have been thought time to give them *another lift*; and, accordingly an Act for this purpose was passed in the year 1809, of which the people seem to have taken not the least notice. It seems to have escaped every body's attention; but, indeed, the Acts now passed are so numerous, that it is next to impossible for any single man to be able to pay attention to them all, or to a quarter part of them. This Act, which is Chapter 127 of the 49th year of the King's reign, makes an addition of £1,000 a year, to the pay of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer; also an addition of £1,000 a year, to each of the nine *Puisne Judges*; and it gives an additional £400 a year to each of the *Welsh Judges*. Thus, at the end of twelve years from the time when the Bank stopped paying in gold, the pay of

the English Judges was nearly doubled; and, shall my Lord King be represented as a *pedlar*, a *jew*, and a *smuggler*, because, at the end of *nine years* of depreciation of money, he wishes to put a stop to the ruinous progress? And shall he be threatened with the hostility of these same Judges, in case he should attempt to enforce his legal claim? Shall he be told about being fought off in the courts, and about the law being *too strong* for him?

At the time when these Acts were passed for augmenting the pay of the Judges, one of the arguments was, that such augmentation was necessary to support the DIGNITY of the office of Judge. Now, in what way was an increase of pay to produce such an effect? Certainly in no other way than that of enabling the Judge to augment his expences of living; for, as to his authority, as to his powers, as to his station, the money would make no alteration at all in them. This being the case, there appears to have been no good reason for augmenting the Judges' pay any more than the pay of the officers of the Navy, or of any other persons in the public employ. Mr. TIERNEY used, at the time when the first augmentation was proposed, an argument very applicable to our present purpose: "If," said he, "an augmentation of income be necessary to support the station of a Judge, has the country no interest in enabling the officers of the Army and Navy, or the Ministers of the Church, or the Magistrates, to maintain their station of society? If the circumstances of a Judge, who has 2,000*l.* a year, require that he should have an additional 1,000*l.* we know very well what must be the situation of a private Gentleman with an income of 2,000*l.* a year."

This argument applies precisely to Lord King. The answer to Mr. Tierney was, that the private Gentleman, if his estate was in land, would, of course, raise his rents, in order to make his income keep pace with the depreciation of money. But the reply to this is, that, if his estate was let upon lease, as Lord King's is, he could not raise his rents, till the expiration of that lease; and if he let a farm upon a fourteen years' lease in the year 1798, he has been receiving money at the rate of that time, during the last thirteen years, whereas the pay of the Judges has been doubled in the space of twelve of those years. This is, in fact, the situation of

Lord King. Either, therefore, it was not necessary, and it was not just to augment the pay of the Judges in any degree; or, it is extremely unjust that Lord King should be prevented from augmenting his income. Indeed he has had, till now, all the legal means of making his income keep pace with the depreciation of money, by demanding his rents in gold; that is to say, agreeably to the terms of the contract, in good and lawful money of the realm.

This legal, this equitable, this fair, this honest, this indubitable claim, he was preparing to enforce, when my Lord Stanhope steps forward with the proposition of a law avowedly intended to prevent him from so doing; to throw impediments in his way; to interfere in the management of his estates; to take from him part of the legal means which he before possessed of preserving his property; and, for having signified his intention to use those means, he is held forth as a *jew*, a *pedlar*, and a *smuggler*. I have observed, that Mr. SHERIDAN has taken part upon this occasion with those who have censured Lord King. And, this is the more remarkable as he has seldom taken part in any discussion whatever. Is Mr. SHERIDAN aware of the consequences to which this may lead? It is hardly necessary to tell him, that the day may not be far distant, when the CIVIL LIST will have to be settled anew; and, I should be glad to know whether, in that settlement, it is likely to be the wish of the parties concerned, that the sum should be fixed as if it were to be paid in gold. Whether, in short, the amount of the Civil List would be fixed for the future, at its present amount. But, if that were not to be the case, how could a larger amount be proposed or supported by those who have now railed at the conduct of Lord King?

Endless are the difficulties, into which those have plunged themselves, who have reprobated the conduct of this nobleman as unjust, or who have represented it as unwise. Such persons will hardly muster up the resolution to make a frank acknowledgment of their error; and yet, if they do not do this, with what face can they propose, or support, or sanction, either expressly or tacitly, any measure which shall have for its object, the preservation of the Crown, the Royal Family, the Army, the Navy, the Courts of Justice, or any

department of the state, against the effects of the depreciation of money? The measure of Lord King fell far short of the justice due to himself, for, though the money had depreciated considerably at the date of his oldest leases, still, it has gone on depreciating further from that time to this. He, therefore, would have been fairly entitled to payment in Gold, and nothing else, for the remainder of those old leases. But, pursuing a moderate and liberal course, he restrained his demands far within their legal bounds. With a considerateness that does him great honour, he suffered his tenants quietly to retain what they had gained during the past, and only required of them a due fulfilment of contract for the future, which was not less necessary to the welfare of his tenants, than it was to his own protection; because without such a measure, it was impossible they ever could obtain a renewal of their leases.

Much, during the discussions upon this famous Bill, has been said about *patriotism*; and Lord King has been charged with a want of that quality, because he made the demand, of which so much has been said. But, if Lord King, in barely demanding the fulfilment of a contract in order to protect himself against the effects of the depreciation of money; if Lord King, in barely appealing to the law already in existence for his protection against this ruinous effect of paper-money; if, for this, Lord King is to be accused of a want of *patriotism*, and is to be lumped with Jews, Pedlars, and Smugglers, what will be the inference with regard to the King and royal family, and my lords the Judges, to protect whom against the effects of depreciation *laws have been passed*, laws proposed by the *minister* of the day and sanctioned by the *majority*. Lord King comes for *no law* to protect him; he asks for *no law against his tenants*; he only wants his due according to the existing law; and yet, he is, and by the very people, too, who approved of the above-mentioned large grants to the King and the Judges, accused of a *want of patriotism*!

The venal prints have not failed to join in the accusations against Lord King, whom the COURIER, on the 5th instant, charges with motives of "*base lucre*," as the ATTORNEY GENERAL did me, and with precisely the same degree of justice. The article here referred to in the COURIER

conclude
duty of
that, "
"SUFFI
"the gen
"inter
"figure
"coward
"while
"man w
"an here
"whose
"ple of b
"persona
"with v
"conduc
here, th
cause is
no man
hireling
paper.
fulfimer
serve his
preciatio
"don the
"interes
"coward
will this
Royal I
has, sin
grants i
him, th
Family
1806)
above s
doubled
venal m
"LUC
get wh
vouring
ing to
which
he doe
ment o
"O
"in w
The k
ciation
has be
since
place,
as we
if the
ten sh
yet w
do n
from
and
with

concludes with some observations as to the duty of patriotism, in this case; and says, that, "On an occasion in which ALL SUFFER, the man who first abandons the general cause for his own personal interests, must needs make a very sorry figure before the world, just like the coward who is the first to fly in battle, while victory is doubtful. But if this man were an high officer, a Legislator, an hereditary Counsellor of his Sovereign, whose peculiar duty it is to set an example of bravery, of fortitude, of contempt for personal consequences in the general cause, with what feelings could we view his conduct?" Now, it is to be observed here, that all this talk about the public cause is most shocking nonsense, and what no man in the world besides one of these hirelings would be found to put upon paper. But, if to demand merely the fulfilment of contracts in order to preserve his fortune against the effects of depreciation of money, if this be to "abandon the general cause for his own personal interests," if this be to resemble "a coward who is the first to flee in battle," how will this venal man speak of the King and Royal Family and the Judges? The King has, since the year 1799, had two great grants in augmentation of the sum allowed him, the Junior Branches of the Royal Family have had one additional grant (in 1806) and the Judges have, as we have above seen, had their pay doubled, actually doubled, since that time. And yet this venal man accuses Lord King of "BASE LUCRE" because he is endeavouring to get what is his due; because he is endeavouring to get his own; because he is trying to protect himself against that ruin which he foresees will come upon him, if he does not now begin to obtain the fulfilment of his contracts.

"On an occasion," says this venal man, "in which ALL suffer." No: not all. The king has not suffered from the depreciation, nor have the Judges, whose pay has been, as we have seen, actually doubled since the stoppage of cash payments took place, and who, of course, would be now as well off as they were before that time, if the pound bank note were worth only ten shillings, and Mr. HORNER tells us it is yet worth about sixteen shillings. "ALL" do not suffer, then. The Judges, so far from suffering have gained very greatly; and yet, no one has ever charged them with motives of "BASE LUCRE." The

Judges of England alone have received, since the year 1799, in virtue of the two Acts above-mentioned, no less a sum than 120,000*l.* that is, one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of principal money, more than they would have received had not these two grants been made to them; and if we include the interest, as in all such calculations we must, they have received, since 1799, over and above their former pay, about 145,000*l.* And, yet, my Lord King is, by this venal scribe, accused of motives of "BASE LUCRE," because he wishes to prevent the whole of his income from being sunk in the depreciation of money. The Judges have actually put in their pockets this large sum of money; they have actually touched it, since the year 1799, and, of course, the National Debt is so much the greater on that account; the interest upon that Debt is so much the greater on that account; the quantity of bank notes to pay the Dividends are so much the greater on that account; and, of course, these two Acts of Parliament have tended, in some degree, to hasten the depreciation, and to produce the very effect which now threatens to ruin Lord King, and to find out a remedy for which puzzles so many men who think themselves wise. Lord King's measure does not tend to add to the national Debt; it tends to produce no addition to the Dividends or the bank paper; it is a mere measure of management of his private affairs, which does not trench upon the public good in any way whatever; and yet, he is lumped along with Jews, Pedlars, and Smugglers, and is accused of a want of patriotism!

This writer tells us, that it was the duty of such a man as Lord King to set an example of "contempt of personal consequences," meaning, of course, pecuniary consequences. But, was it more his duty than it was the duty of the King, the Royal Family, and the Judges? He says that Lord King ought to have done it, as being an hereditary counsellor of the crown. If Lord King had had much to do in counselling the Crown, the present subject would, perhaps, never have been discussed; but, be that as it may, was it more his duty to set an example of contempt of pecuniary consequences than it was of the King? Was it more his duty than it was the duty of the Judges? Was no example of this sort to be expected from them, while it was to be ex-

pected from him? And, I beg you to observe the wide difference between the case of the Judges and that of Lord King. No new law is made to favour the interests of the latter; but a new law is made, and afterwards another new law, to favour the interests of the former. Lord King does not attempt to obtain any *real addition* to his original rents; but there is granted to the Judges a very large *real addition* to their original pay. The *COURIER* calls upon Lord King to suffer quietly for the good of his country. His suffering would not do the country any good, but a great deal of harm. But, upon the supposition that it would do the country good, what does the same man say about the augmentation of the pay of the Judges? When the augmentation to the pay of these persons was under discussion, Mr. PERCEVAL (who was then a *barrister*) argued, that the Judges ought to have quite enough to maintain them in all their state *without touching their private fortunes*; and, observe, this he said *at the very time*, in that very year, 1799, when Old George Rose, who was then one of the Secretaries of the Treasury at 4,000*l.* a year, and who had another good 4,000*l.* a year in sinecure places, was preaching up to "the most *thinking people of all Europe*," his doctrine of *sacrifices* and *savage*, a specimen of which I gave you in my last letter. "The *imperious* and *awful* necessity of the *present crisis*," said GEORGE, "unavoidably subjects US to heavy burdens. It has been said, that they ought to be considered as a SALVAGE for the remaining part of OUR property. The metaphor though just is inadequate; for what Tariff shall settle the difference between the BLESSED COMFORTS OF RELIGION and the GLOOMY DESPAIR OF ATHEISM." George talks of "US" and of "OUR" property; but HE was gaining all the while; aye, and he got his great sinecure place, with reversion to his eldest son, while "imperious and awful necessity" was calling upon the nation for sacrifices. GEORGE's doctrine of SALVAGE was for the use of others, and not at all for his own use; nor did this doctrine of SALVAGE apply to the Judges, who, we have seen, received an *addition* to their pay out of the public money, during the times of this "imperious and awful necessity;" during the time that George Rose was calling upon the people, for the love of

God, not to spare their money. "Oh!" said George, "it would be a *slander* to the *sense and virtue* of the people to suppose an abatement in that *spirit* which has enabled the government to call forth those *resources*." And, at this very time he was receiving upwards of 8,000*l.* a year out of the taxes raised upon that same people, and Mr. TIERNEY, who opposed the augmentation to the pay of the Judges, was told, that they ought to be enabled to maintain all their dignity and state, that is to say, to live and keep their families, *without touching their private fortunes*. And, yet, Lord King is to be lumped with Jews, Pedlars, and Smugglers; he is to have a hint about tossing in blankets and kicking down stairs; and, what is still more serious, he is to see a law passed avowedly to counteract his measures with regard to the management of his own estate; he is to be accused of motives of *base lucre*; he is to be held forth as an enemy to his country; and all this because he wishes to obtain what is legally and equitably his due; what is his due as fairly as the produce of their fields is the due of his tenants.

I have now, Gentlemen, to apologize to you for having taken up so much of your time in illustrating what was so clear itself. The additional grants to the Civil List, and the augmentation of the pay of the Judges, did not properly belong to our subject; but, when my Lord King was reviled, and when a law was avowedly levelled at him, because he sought, in 1811, to protect himself and family against the ruinous effects of depreciation, justice demanded of me, if I wrote at all upon the subject, to show what has been done in behalf of the King and the Judges in 1799, 1802, 1804, and 1809, and especially as these measures in behalf of the King and the Judges were approved of and supported by some of those who now reprobate the conduct of Lord King.

In my next Letter, which will be the last of the series, I shall have to offer you some observations of a more general nature, and in the mean while, I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your friend,

W^m. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
July 26, 1811.

To the Po
at the
1811.

My

His Ro
acting in
his Majes
to you the
himself e
attendance
and labor
are partic
probation
which y
his Royal
tions of
Allies, an
creased a

Your d
tem of li
nations o
augment
sistance
which yo
the inba
unexamp
confirme

fection,
tional z
nance of

His E
mands u
rence in
adopted
and mi
Kingdon

For th
wisely p
for the a
and for
Great B
Highnes
you, tha
ready be
has enab
tion to
union an
and Ir
cemente

Ge

His
thank y
his Ma
which
branch

His I
sare the
applied
tain to
present

SPEECH

To the Parliament, delivered by Commission, at the Prorogation, on the 24th of July, 1811.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, has commanded us to signify to you the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to relieve you from your attendance in Parliament, after the long and laborious duties of the Session. We are particularly directed to express his approbation of the wisdom and firmness which you have manifested in enabling his Royal Highness to continue the exertions of this country in the cause of our Allies, and to prosecute the war with increased activity and vigour.

Your determined perseverance in a system of liberal aid to the brave and loyal nations of the Peninsula has progressively augmented their means and spirit of resistance; while the humane attention which you have paid to the sufferings of the inhabitants of Portugal, under the unexampled cruelty of the enemy, has confirmed the alliance by new ties of affection, and cannot fail to inspire additional zeal and animation in the maintenance of the common cause.

His Royal Highness especially commands us to declare his cordial concurrence in the measure which you have adopted for improving the internal security and military resources of the United Kingdom.

For these important purposes you have wisely provided, by establishing a system for the annual supply of the regular army, and for the interchange of the militias of Great Britain and Ireland; and his Royal Highness has the satisfaction of informing you, that the voluntary zeal which has already been manifested upon this occasion has enabled him to give immediate operation to an arrangement by which the union and mutual interests of Great Britain and Ireland may be more effectually cemented and improved.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Royal Highness commands us to thank you, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, for the liberal supplies which you have furnished for every branch of the public service.

His Royal Highness has seen with pleasure the readiness with which you have applied the separate means of Great Britain to the financial relief of Ireland at the present moment; and derives much satis-

faction from perceiving that you have been able to accomplish this object with so little additional burthen upon the resources of this part of the United Kingdom. The manner in which you have taken into consideration the condition of the Irish Revenue has met with his Royal Highness's approbation; and his Royal Highness commands us to add, that he looks with confidence to the advantage which may be derived from the attention of Parliament having been given to this important subject.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Royal Highness commands us to congratulate you upon the reduction of the island of Mauritius. This last and most important colony of France has been obtained with inconsiderable loss, and its acquisition must materially contribute to the security of the British commerce and possessions in that quarter of the world.

The successes which have crowned his Majesty's arms during the present campaign, under the distinguished command of Lieutenant General Lord Viscount Wellington, are most important to the interests, and glorious to the character, of the country. His Royal Highness warmly participates in all the sentiments which have been excited by those successes, and concurs in the just applause which you have bestowed upon the skill, prudence, and intrepidity so conspicuously displayed in obtaining them.

It affords the greatest satisfaction to his Royal Highness to reflect, that, should it please Divine Providence to restore his Majesty to the ardent prayers and wishes of his Royal Highness and of his Majesty's people, his Royal Highness will be enabled to lay before his Majesty, in the history of these great achievements of the British arms throughout a series of systematic operations, so satisfactory a proof that the national interests and the glory of the British name have been successfully maintained, while his Royal Highness has conducted the Government of the United Kingdom.

KING'S HEALTH.

The following is the official Report of the State of his Majesty's health on Saturday the 6th of July, as presented to the Privy Council by the Queen's Council:

WINDSOR, JULY 6, 1811.

We the underwritten, Members of the Council appointed to assist her Majesty in

the Execution of the trusts committed to her Majesty, by virtue of the statute, passed in the 51st year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "an Act to provide for the Administration of the Royal Authority, and for the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, and for the resumption of the exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty," having duly met together, on the 6th July, 1811, at the Queen's Lodge, near to Windsor Castle, and having called before us, and examined upon oath, the Physicians, and other persons attendant upon his Majesty, and having ascertained the state of his Majesty's health by all such other ways and means as appeared to us to be necessary for that purpose, do hereby declare and certify, that the state of his Majesty's health, at the time of this our meeting, is not such as to enable his Majesty to resume the personal exercise of his Royal functions.—That his Majesty's bodily health is but little disordered.—That, in consequence of an accession of mental disorder, subsequent to our report of the 6th of April last, a change took place in the system of management, which had been previously adopted for his Majesty's cure. His Majesty's mental health is represented to us by all the Physicians as certainly improved since the 6th of April. We are unable, however, to ascertain what would be the effects of an immediate recurrence to any system of management, which should admit of as free an approach to his Majesty's presence, as was allowed in a former period of his Majesty's indisposition.—Some of his Majesty's Physicians do not entertain hopes of his Majesty's recovery quite so confident as those which they had expressed on the 6th of April.—The persuasion of others of his Majesty's Physicians, that his Majesty will completely recover, is not diminished—and they all appear to agree, that there is a considerable probability of his Majesty's final recovery; and that neither his Majesty's bodily health, nor his present symptoms, nor the effect which the disease has yet produced upon his Majesty's faculties, afford any reason for thinking that his Majesty will not ultimately recover.

(Signed) C. CANTUAR.

E. EBOR.

ELDON,

MONTROSE,

ELLENBOROUGH,

WINCHELSEA,

W. GRANT,

AYLESFORD.

A True Copy.

CHETWYND.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—*Intelligence from the Armies in Spain.*

(Concluded from p. 96.)

..... At seven at night, at the signal of four bombs at once, five columns darted against the points marked out, crying Vive l'Empereur.—Five thousand men defended the works attacked and the Lower Town. They opposed at first a strong resistance and a very warm fire; but the irresistible impetuosity of the grenadiers overthrew all obstacles in a few minutes. Colonel Bouvier with his column scaled the breach of the bastion of the Chanoines, and pursued the Spaniards to the extremity of the bastion; they tried to stop us at the passage of the drawbridge; a dreadful carnage was made, and the ditches were filled with dead bodies. The curtain was next scaled, and we reached the breach of Fort Royal, where ladders were applied; the enemy had not time to put in play two furnaces under the salient end of the bastion of Chanoines. Capt. Thiebault having carried his small column straight to the end of the half moon, had by that bold movement forced the enemy to abandon it; from thence he joined the first column; the brave fellows dashed into the breach of Fort Royal, the enemy was overthrown, killed, or put to a disorderly flight. The flying were pursued, and at this moment the column of Colonel Bourgeois arrived on the right; the enemy were completely routed and driven under the walls of the Upper Town—we entered the bastion of St. Domingo between the town and the fort; 150 Spaniards were slaughtered, and we remained masters of the bridge, which must ensure the possession of all the rest.—At the same time the column of the Commandant Fondzelski had penetrated into the suburb, breaking down the barricades, and making every thing fly before them, whilst fifty grenadiers, proceeding by the sea-breach, attempted to reach the head of the Jetty; but there a reserve of Sarsfield's had been placed to stop us, and a warm and unexpected firing made the attack falter on a sudden. The general disposition of the attack prescribed the entrenching ourselves in the houses, and defending ourselves in them, if the enemy opposed too much fire and too great a resistance. This proceeding was not even necessary. The Colonel of the 117th, Robert, who commanded the right, advanced

immediat
of the res
and gren
115th, an
stored the
and unac
sea and t
ceeded;
onet; no
port, the
walls of
and Cap
brave mo
treat the
blows.—
over, Ge
bert, con
necessar
a conqu
lished th
Rogneat
neers an
and the
workmen
and co
breaches
the enem
night, a
town be
left at th
prolongi
break, v
appear
behind
useless,
night so
lies. C
leather,
deposite
tims of
this, an
our bon
which l
we had
All the
run dow
of Fort
in passi
poured
dating
burbs v
scarcely
rison, e
noise,
lums;
the hou
themse
themse
nothing
enemy

immediately by the sea-beach at the head of the reserve, composed of the marksmen and grenadiers of the 9th light, 42d, 114th, 115th, and 121st. His presence alone restored the battle. The enemy, intimidated and unable to retreat, were driven to the sea and the mole; a frightful carnage succeeded; every thing was done by the bayonet; nothing escaped in the suburbs, the port, the houses, ditches, and even to the walls of the town, where Major Douarch and Captain Derigny, with a handful of brave men, pursued in their precipitate retreat the last fugitives that escaped from our blows.—After the first moments of fury were over, General Palombini and Colonel Robert, commanding the trenches, made the necessary dispositions to ensure so brilliant a conquest, placed the troops, and established the posts. I ordered Generals Rognat and Valee, chiefs of the engineers and artillery, to go over the ground and the works. Colonel Henry made the workmen advance; he made lodgements and communications, perfected the breaches, and profiting by the terror of the enemy, traced and opened on the same night, a first parallel in front of the upper town before Fort Royal, supporting his left at the bastion of Santo Domingo, and prolonging his line to the beach. At day-break, we already presented a formidable appearance to the garrison, intimidated behind their walls, and to the English, useless, but not indifferent spectators of a night so disastrous to them, and their allies. Considerable magazines of cotton, leather, sugar, and other English produce deposited in the lower town were the victims of pillage or the flames. At sight of this, an impotent rage made them forget our bombs and red-hot balls, the fear of which had kept them at a distance since we had established our coast batteries. All their vessels and frigates set sail to run down the coast rapidly from the heights of Fort Francoli to beyond the Port; and in passing by turns before our flank, they poured upon us all their broadsides, inundating our trenches, camps, and the suburbs with a real shower of balls, which scarcely did harm to any body. The garrison, encouraged for a moment by all this noise, dared present some heads of columns; but our soldiers were sheltered in the houses; in a moment they shewed themselves, and were about to precipitate themselves anew upon the enemy, but nothing more was necessary to make the enemy retire. This attempt has been the

last, or the only one, to dispossess us of the lower town, the loss of which must be fatal to Tarragona. From the following night, General Montmarie and Colonel St. Cyr Nugues established by my orders batteries towards the sea, and a second parallel was opened at 60 toises to prepare the attack and the breaching batteries against the body of the place. The capture of the lower town and its dependencies has placed in our possession 80 pieces of cannon, of which I subjoin an account; this makes the number taken 137. The number of prisoners is only 160, among whom are some officers; they are the victims escaped by a kind of miracle from the fury of the soldiers, whom each assault irritates and animates more and more. I have been obliged to burn the dead, as at the capture of Fort Olivo. The amount to this day is 1,553, and every day we discover other bodies. I fear much, if the garrison wait for the assault in their last hold, I shall be forced to set a terrible example, and intimidate for ever Catalonia and Spain by the destruction of a whole city. Our loss in this hot, but rapid action, is only 120 killed, and 372 wounded. But I must observe to your Highness, that the attack of this suburb, crowned by a triple assault, is to be dated ten days back, in which the engineers and artillerymen have suffered daily losses. Several officers have been killed, a great number wounded—I reckon, during the siege, 2,500 men put *hors de combat*. The ardour and good spirit that animates the whole army is redoubled, and we aspire to strike a last blow that shall terminate with *eclat* this long struggle.—[The letter ends with praises bestowed on particular officers.]—(Signed) COUNT SUCHET. Camp before Tarragona, June 26.

Cannon, &c. taken by Assault, June 21.

Twenty-four pounders	29
Sixteen	9
Twelve	2
Eight	6
Four	3
Three	2
Howitzers, Mortars, and Iron	
Pieces	29
Total	80

*Paris, July 9. Imperial Army of Arragon.
To his Serene Highness the Prince of
Neufchatel, Major-General, &c.*

Monseigneur;—I lay at his Majesty's feet the keys of Tarragona, to which, I hope, is attached the speedy submission of Catalonia. A siege of two, or rather three months, conducted in the space of one month, and five successive assaults, have destroyed a garrison of 18,000 men, consisting of the finest troops of Spain, and put into our hands a port from whence the English fed the insurrection of the province in order to preserve a vent for their merchandize. By their multiplied succours they prolonged the defence of the place; at different times they conveyed arms, ammunition, and troops from Valencia, Alicant, and Carthagea. The fury of the soldiers was increased by the resistance of the garrison, who every moment expected its deliverance, and thought to secure success by a general sortie. The fifth assault, still more vigorous than the preceding, made yesterday, in broad day, on the last fortification, has occasioned a horrible massacre, with but little loss on our side. The terrible example which I foresaw with regret in my last report to your Highness has, taken place, and will for a long time be recollected in Spain. Four thousand men have been killed in the city; from 10 to 12,000 men endeavoured to make their escape over the walls into the country; 1,000 have been sabred or drowned; nearly 10,000, 500 of whom are officers, have been made prisoners, and are setting off for France; nearly 1,000 wounded are in the hospitals of the city, where their lives were respected in the midst of the carnage. Three Field Marshals, and the Governor, are among the prisoners; many others among the slain. Twenty stand of colours, 38 pieces of artillery mounted, 40,000 balls and shells, 500,000 weight of powder and lead, are in our possession. I shall immediately forward to your Highness correct returns of all that has been found in the place, and the details of the glorious action, which has crowned the efforts of the army of Arragon, in the province of Catalonia. I shall recommend to his Majesty's favour those brave men who have so valiantly combated. I am, &c. COUNT SUCHET. Head Quarters at Tarragona, June 29.

P. S. Captain Antoine, my Aide-de-Camp, is the bearer of this dispatch, which he will convey to you with all expedition. He shared in all the labours of the siege, was among the foremost who mounted to the assault, and can give your Serene

Highness all the information you may desire. I particularly recommend him to your kind attention, and intreat you to obtain for him from his Majesty the rank of Chef d'Escadron.

(Signed) COUNT SUCHET.

To the above is annexed a certified return of the prisoners taken on the 28th of June. The grand total is 9,781, including 497 officers. Among the latter are mentioned Don Juan Imen de Contrera, Governor General; Bascourt, Sub-chief of the Staff; General Courtin, and two Aides-de-Camp; Cabrer, General of Engineers, and Brigadier Messina.

To his Highness the Prince of Neufchatel, Major-General, &c.

I had the honour of giving an account to your Highness of all the efforts which I had made to place the army in a state for entering the field, and manœuvring in aid of the army of the south. As I was ignorant of the precise situation of the enemy, I thought it my duty first to approach him, for the purpose of availing myself of circumstances, and also to disguise from him for some time my real intentions. I, therefore, marched my troops on the road of Rodrigo and on that of Placentia, and I advanced in person on the 5th to Rodrigo with the greater part of the cavalry, and a strong advanced guard. I availed myself of this opportunity to throw into Rodrigo a great quantity of supplies, and I set out in the night in the hope of surprising the division of General Crauford, which was cantoned three leagues from Rodrigo. A few hours were sufficient for apprising that General of my arrival at Rodrigo, and he immediately put himself in march to retire beyond the Coa, leaving his cavalry in observation, and abandoning several magazines of provisions. General Montbrun with his cavalry manœuvred against the cavalry of the enemy, pushed them with great vigour, and made some prisoners. I learned that Lord Spencer, who commanded the army in the absence of Lord Wellington, had under his orders three divisions, which were marched from the banks of the Coa as far as Castel Branco. I concluded that a part of these troops was destined to cross to the left bank of the Tagus on the first appearance of their being wanted. I resolved upon a rapid march; I sent orders to General Regnier to set out from Fuente Roblé and Los Santos, where he was with two divisions, to march upon Banos and Placentia.

The bridge in order yet arrive delayed; a matter announced great vig been made already g cost what masters of were the circumstance that my a on the ev the posts the morn matia and measures entrench lieving B all haste entered I power to tious tha a signal marked entered were ab what vig vernor, a in the d much th —I can cellent during burning but it many p Majesty compos the hor

Bad

To h

Mon Highn relieve sieged Portug Portug ed by same from of the united knew lowed

The bridge-equipage, on which I reckoned in order to cross the Tagus, not having yet arrived from Madrid, my march was delayed; in the mean time, its arrival was a matter of urgency, for all the reports announced that Badajoz was attacked with great vigour; that three breaches had been made; that two assaults had been already given, and that the enemy wished, cost what it would, to make themselves masters of that important city. Whatever were the obstacles which arose from circumstances, we used so much diligence, that my advanced guard arrived at Merida on the evening of the 17th, where it joined the posts of the army of the south. On the morning of the 18th, the duke of Dalmatia and myself concerted the necessary measures for driving the enemy from his entrenched positions at Albuera, and relieving Badajoz; but the enemy retired in all haste, re-crossed the Guadiana, and re-entered Portugal, without its being in our power to come up with him. It is vexatious that he did not dare to await us, for a signal victory would have infallibly marked our arrival in these regions. We entered Badajoz yesterday, where we were able to perceive with our own eyes, what vigour General Philippon the Governor, and his brave garrison, had exerted in the defence of that fortress, and how much their conduct was worthy of praise.—I cannot refrain from praising the excellent spirit which has animated the army during a long and painful march, under a burning sun and amidst many privations: but it would be difficult to expect too many proofs of zeal for the service of his Majesty, from the brave regiments which compose the army of Portugal.—I have the honour, &c.

The Marshal Duke of RAGUSA.

Badajoz, June 21.

*To his Highness the Prince of Neufchatel,
Major-General, &c.*

Monseigneur,—I hasten to inform your Highness, that the fortress of Badajoz is relieved, and that the troops which besieged it have retired into the interior of Portugal, to join the rest of the Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish army, commanded by Lord Wellington, who has taken the same direction.—On the 12th inst. I set out from Llerena with the troops of the army of the South, which I had caused to be united; General Count D'Erlon, who, I knew, must join me two days after, followed the movement; the head of his

column arrived on the 13th at Usagre, where was the 5th corps; I advanced upon Los Santos, where I found myself in the midst of the establishments of the enemy's army. On the 15th I took a position at Fuente del Maestre; on the 17th at Almendralejo, from whence on the 18th I communicated with the imperial army of Portugal, of which the advanced guard had arrived at Merida; and the same day I concerted with Marshal the Duke of Ragusa the ulterior movements of the two armies.—On the 19th we were informed that the siege of Badajoz was raised, and that the enemy had abandoned his position at Albuera, evacuated Olivenza, and was withdrawing his troops to the right bank of the Guadiana, on the side of Elvas. In the afternoon of the same day the army made a movement in advance, and I received a letter from General Philippon, Governor of Badajoz, which confirmed the retreat of the enemy; on the 20th our troops arrived on the Guadiana, before Olivenza, and at Badajoz; the army of Portugal manœuvred by the right bank, and took the road of Talavera; the army of the South defiled by Santa Martha and the Albuera, while a column advanced along the mountains upon the left. The cavalry of the two armies is to day in reconnaissance upon Villaviciosa, Elvas, and in front of Campo Mayor, in order to ascertain the movements and dispositions of the enemy. Upon the report which they shall give, I shall decide, with the Duke of Ragusa, as to the ulterior operations which the army of Portugal and that of the South will attempt.—The junction of the two armies on the banks of the Guadiana is one of the most marked events of the war of Spain; it will be in its consequences of the greatest effect for the benefit of the service of the Emperor; its first result has been the preservation of Badajoz; the southern provinces of Spain are also entirely relieved on the side of Portugal, and tranquillity, which was for a moment disturbed on several points, is re-establishing. The Duke of Ragusa and myself meant to give battle to the enemy; but Lord Wellington has prudently retired before we could come up with him: yet his forces amounted to 60,000 men; of whom 30,000 were English, comprehending the two divisions of General Spencer, which he had withdrawn from the north, 14,000 Portuguese, and 16,000 Spaniards: he had in this number 5,000 cavalry.—It is vexatious that a general affair has not

taken place; the event would not have been uncertain; but it is to be hoped, that an opportunity will offer itself.—I must now give your Highness an account of the situation in which we found Badajoz; and of the glorious defence of its brave garrison. The General of Brigade, Philippon, who commanded as Governor, has had the rare merit of creating for himself means, and of rendering serviceable for its defence all that there were of Frenchmen in Badajoz; while with a vigorous hand he kept down the inhabitants, and employed them even on the works of the fortifications, which were incessantly improving. I shall soon have the honour of sending your Highness a copy of the journal of the siege; at present I can only notice the principal transactions, and by you to represent to the Emperor, General Philippon as deserving the fruits of his good opinion. I have the honour to ask for him the title of Count, and a suitable endowment; I shall also solicit rewards for other military men of all ranks, who have distinguished themselves by brilliant exploits.—On the 16th of May, the day of the battle which I fought with the allied army, at Albuera, nine days had already expired since the trenches were opened by the enemy before Badajoz, and six days since the fire against the place had commenced.—On the evening of the 15th the besiegers withdrew all their troops, and united them to their other force at Albuera; they did not re-appear till the 19th. During their absence, General Philippon rased the whole of the works which they had constructed, and brought within the fortress the platforms and fascines which he found there; he even took some convoys from the enemy, who were arranging matters for restoring the works of the siege; but they did not, the second time, open the trenches till the night of the 30th of May. The fire against the place recommenced on the 3d of June, and continued without interruption till the raising of the siege. On the 6th, three breaches were already made, one in the body of the place, and two in Fort San Christoval; the first in front of the Castle, between Trinity bastion and the Guadiana, to the left of the half-moon San Roque; but General Philippon immediately set to work to escarp it, and ordered an entrenchment to be made in the solid ground of the Castle; this last

measure was perfectly understood, the enemy made only a false attack on this point.—At Fort San Christoval there was only one practicable breach in the night of the 7th: 1,500 English threw themselves into the ditch of the fort, applied their ladders, and attempted the assault; thrice they returned to the charge; 75 brave fellows, commanded by Captain Chauvin, of the 88th, steadily repulsed them, and inflicted on them very great loss; we had some soldiers wounded with thrusts of the bayonet on the height of the breach; the success was complete; the dead, the wounded, and the ladders, remained in the ditch.—On the following days, the enemy continued his fire on the fort, and endeavoured to enlarge the breach. In the night of the 10th, 2,000 English presented themselves anew, to give the assault. Capt. Jondiou, of the 21st regiment of light-infantry, commanded at San Christoval: his garrison consisted of 140 men, every soldier had four loaded muskets by his side; General Philippon had ordered to be placed a great quantity of charged bombs on the parapets, of which Serjeant Brette, of the 5th regiment of artillery, had the direction; (this soldier had before distinguished himself at the first assault of San Christoval.) Already the enemy had applied 40 ladders, the head of their column had reached the height of the breach; Serjeant Brette calls out "Captain, shall we blow up the first mine?" The bombs and grenades descend, exploding they break the ladders, and spread death and dismay among the enemy; while, with the bayonet, the garrison drive them down to the bottom of the breach; in an instant the ditches were filled with dead and wounded, among whom were several English officers; in this confusion some English officers demanded succour; the brave Jondiou ordered them to refit a ladder, and ascend into the fort, where they should surrender as prisoners. This was accordingly done. At day-breaking the enemy's General wrote to General Philippon, demanding a truce of three hours, in order to carry off the wounded, who remained in the ditch or under the fire of the fort. The demand was acceded to. The loss of the English in this affair exceeded 600 men; we had not 10 men rendered unfit for service.

(To be continued.)

"The t
state exp
empty; t
they will
and, the
upon the

What is t
Money
Shower
Money
Paper-
become
Royal
Austrian
the Ja
any Sh

What ar
duced up
of the p
tell us, t
that the
that the
and to b
us, that
what m
ause th
they wo
estimation
whole
you ver
to pay
that, le
take pl
the Ba
part of
monal d